

Photography, Memory, and Ethnic Cleansing: The Fate of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, 1948— John Phillips' Pictorial Record

ABSTRACT

Much of the recent academic literature on the 1948 war portray it a one-sided—and thus simplistic—ethnic cleansing of the Arab population of Palestine. Referred to as the Naqba paradigm, it features the Jews/Zionists as villainous perpetrators and the Palestinian Arabs as feeble victims. Accordingly, the story of “the 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine” excludes expulsion and massacres of Jews, the destruction of Jewish communities, and the erasure of the Jewish signifiers in the local landscape from the story. As made explicit in John Phillips’ photo-reportage featuring the destruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, the ethnic cleansing of Palestine also involved the expulsion of Jews and the destruction of their communities—whenever and wherever military power relations were in favor of Arab forces.

THE DOCUMENTARY POWER OF PHOTOGRAPHS IS BASED ON THE notion that they record history as it happened, part of that uniquely human process of making meaning, of recording and interpreting the world by creating images of it.¹ This article deals with a set of photographs, which, despite their accessibility and the story they tell, have largely been excluded from recent academic literature on the 1948 Israeli War of Independence when related as a story of ethnic cleansing. John Phillips of *Life* magazine witnessed the surrender of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem in May 1948 and photographed images of this event. At one level, his photos tell the

story of the sacking of the Jewish Quarter and expulsion of the Jews living there. However, at another level, they also show that the story of the 1948 war is far more complex than the one-sided—and thus simplistic—version offered by proponents of the *Naqba* paradigm and the associated narrative of Palestinian Arab victimhood.

On Friday, 28 May 1948 the *Palestine Post* informed its readers that the Hurva Synagogue,² “The Great Synagogue of the Old City of Jerusalem” located on the Street of the Jews in the Jewish Quarter, had been razed by Arabs and that the cloud of smoke could be seen from afar. According to the report, the demolition of the holy place was timed to coincide with King Abdullah’s visit to the Old City of Jerusalem and his pilgrimage to the Haram al-Sharif, where he prayed for the welfare of his army. According to the report, no information had yet been received as to whether Jews had been trapped in the synagogue and the fate of the Torah scrolls and other sacred objects stored there. Though the word “surrender” was not explicitly mentioned, the report concerning the Haganah asking for ceasefire to evacuate the women and children made it clear that the surrender of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem was imminent. In fact, by Friday morning, 28 May, the surrender of the Jewish Quarter was already a *fait accompli*. After the surrender terms had been signed, the evacuation of Jews, combatants and civilians, from the Old City of Jerusalem began. On Sunday, 30 May, the *Palestine Post* reported “Old City Defenders Yield after Epic Resistance” and further that evacuation of Jews had begun on the Sabbath eve and had been concluded by 2 A.M.³

The surrender of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem followed the evacuation and destruction of a number of Jewish villages and the surrender⁴ of the four kibbutzim of the Etzion bloc, south of Jerusalem to the Transjordanian Arab Legion.⁵ Following a prolonged siege, the Etzion bloc had surrendered on 14 May, just a few hours before the British Mandate in Palestine had expired and the State of Israel proclaimed. On the same day Arab Jaffa also surrendered to Haganah forces. After surrendering, the defenders of Kfar Etzion were massacred, with only three managing to escape. The defenders of the other three kibbutzim were accorded the status of POWs and taken away. The four kibbutzim were looted and razed.⁶

The surrender of the Jewish Quarter on 28 May was a major success of the Arab Legion. In his memoirs, Major Abdullah el-Tell, the commander of the Arab Legion’s 6th battalion that also led the final assault on the Etzion Bloc, explained the ramifications of the victory: “Al Quds was purged of Jews and for the first time in 1000 years no Jew remained there.”⁷ He boasted that the POWs taken from the Etzion Bloc and from the Old



Jewish families being evacuated from the Old City, June 1948.

Photographer: John Phillips

Courtesy of Image Bank/Time and Life Pictures/Getty Images

City of Jerusalem were the only Jewish POWs who fell into the hands of an Arab army.⁸ He further maintained that the decisive Arab victory was a humiliation for the Jews:

I have seen in this defeat of the Jews the heaviest blow rendered upon them, especially in terms of morale, since they were evicted from the Western Wall and from the Jewish Quarter, for the first time in fifteen generations.

No photos document the surrender of the Etzion Bloc. According to the testimony of one of the survivors, a photo of the defenders of Kfar Etzion was taken by an unidentified man shortly before they were massacred.⁹ This photo has never been seen. In contrast to this, however, the

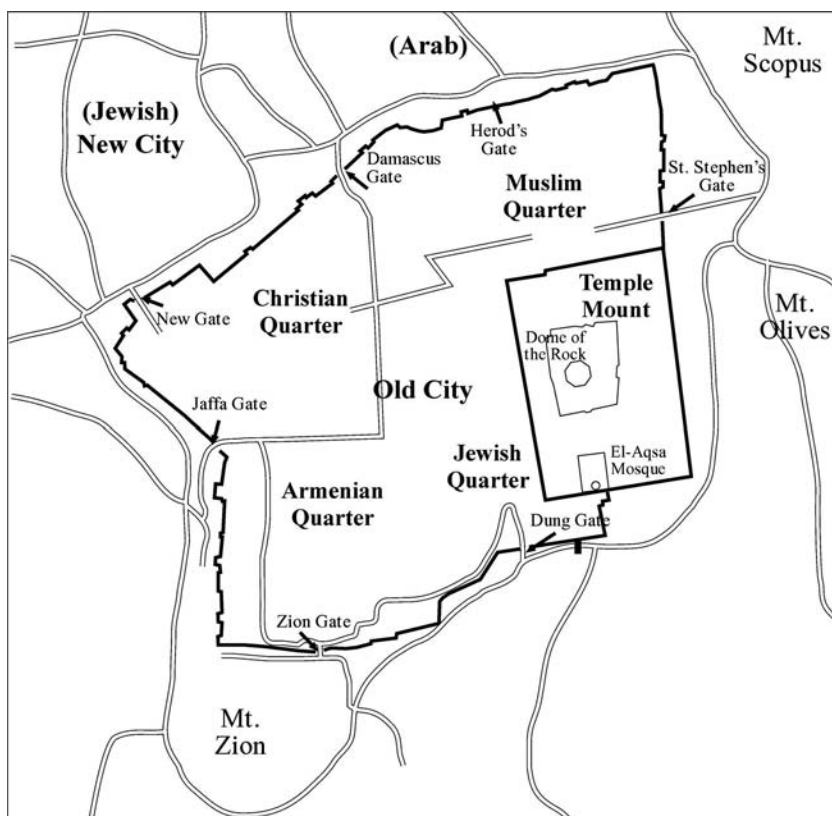
final days of the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem and its sacking were recorded in a series of photos taken by John Phillips, a photo-journalist for *Life* magazine who, accredited to the Arab Legion, witnessed and recorded on film the fighting in the Jewish Quarter, the eviction of its residents, and its sacking. The series of photo-reports featured in June 1948 in *Life* related to global audiences the story of the last days of the Jewish Quarter. More photos, most of them previously unpublished, were later featured in books authored by John Phillips. Taken together, these photos told the last days of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem as seen through the eyes and lens of an observer witnessing first-hand the unfolding drama.

JOHN PHILLIPS: THE ROAD TO THE OLD CITY OF JERUSALEM

French by birth, the son of a Welsh father and American mother, Phillips (1914–1996) was born in French Algeria. In 1925 his family moved to Paris and then settled in Nice. From 1936 through the 1950s he was a photographer for *Life*. His photos of the opening of Parliament by King Edward VIII were featured in the first issue of *Life*. During World War II he distinguished himself as a war-photographer.

In 1943 Phillips visited Palestine. His impressions of Jewish Palestine were entitled “Jewish Homeland” (*Life* 15/15, 11 October 1943, 93–101). In February 1948 he visited Egypt, where the seventh meeting of the Arab League Council convened at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After he was denied an interview with Haj Amin al-Husseini because of his report on Jewish Palestine from 1943, Phillips left for Damascus. There he met with Fawzi al-Qawuqji, commander of the Arab Liberation Army (ALA) since winter 1948.¹⁰ Following al-Qawuqji, in March 1948 Phillips entered Palestine, where another meeting between the photographer and the commander-in-chief of the Arab Liberation Army took place at al-Qawuqji’s headquarters in Samaria. Phillips experienced the Jewish military victory in Haifa on 21–23 April and the exodus of its Arab citizens through the port. In early May he travelled to Amman to meet with King Abdullah. Following the departure of Sir Allan Cunningham, the last British High Commissioner in Palestine on 14 May, Phillips was accredited to the Arab Legion, which invaded Palestine through Allenby Bridge.

Wearing the uniform of the Arab Legion, which, for the first time since February gave him a sense of security that he would not be lynched by paranoid Muslims for taking pictures,¹¹ he headed north of Jerusalem to



Jerusalem Old City Map

find out what the ALA forces under the command of al-Qawuqji in this area were engaged in. In this area there were two Jewish communities: Atarot, near Qalandiya Airport, and Neve Ya'aqov. The residents of Atarot were evicted during the night of 15 May. When Phillips arrived there, only the smoldering ruins of the place could be observed. At Neve Ya'aqov he witnessed the shelling of the settlement by Arab irregulars and its destruction the following day after its defenders had evacuated it during the night.¹²

From Neve Ya'aqov Phillips drove to Jerusalem via Jericho, taking the road under Arab control. His first encounter with the fighting was when he arrived at the Mount of Olives, where he witnessed an armored car firing into the city. He entered the Old City by foot through St. Stephen's Gate and headed to the headquarters of the Arab Legion, where Major Abdullah el-Tell was coordinating the operations of the Arab Legion forces in Jerusalem.

The Jewish Quarter, where mostly poor, Ultra-Orthodox families lived, was geographically disconnected from the Jewish neighborhoods in the New City outside of the walls, and had been practically beleaguered since January 1948.¹³ Since hundreds of Jews had chosen to leave before May 1948, the number of civilians left in the Jewish Quarter following the end of the British Mandate in mid-May was only around 1,700. Entrusted with the defense of the Jewish Quarter were around 150 fighters drawn from members of all the Jewish militias.¹⁴

The attack by Arab irregulars on the Jewish Quarter began on 16 May. By the following day the attacking Arabs had taken a third of the Jewish Quarter. On 18 May the Arab Legion entered the Old City to lead the attack on the Jewish Quarter. The area under Jewish control was constantly shrinking; subject to constant sniping and shelling, the situation of the Jewish Quarter had become desperate. On 27 May the largest synagogue in the Quarter, the Hurva, was captured by the Arab legion and shortly afterward dynamited. On Friday, 28 May, the Jewish Quarter surrendered.

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXPOSURE: THE LAST DAY OF THE JEWISH QUARTER

Beginning with its 31 May issue, *Life* published four consecutive photo reportages on the drama unfolding in the territory of the former area of British Mandate Palestine. The first of these, entitled “Israel is Born in Travail and Hope”, appeared two and a half weeks after the British had departed and David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s first prime minister, had proclaimed the independent State of Israel in Tel-Aviv. The report focused on the birth of a new state under military attack. Featuring a map of Jerusalem, it stated that taking Jerusalem was the Arabs’ objective.¹⁵ A week later the magazine featured a report by Phillips on the Arab victory in the Old City on 28 May entitled “Abdullah’s Legion Captures Walled City of Jews—Jews Surrender to the Arabs after Nightmarish Siege”.¹⁶ The photos featured alongside the text depicted Transjordanian soldiers ([Arab] Legionnaires) fighting and dynamiting buildings in the Jewish Quarter. Accredited to the Arab Legion, the images produced by Phillips obviously feature snapshots of the battle raging in the Old City from the perspective of the advancing Arab army. Remarkably, none of the photos featured in his photo-reportage depicted the surrender of the Jewish Quarter and its aftermath. In contrast, the text referred to the fate of the defeated Jews:



Ruins of the "Hurva Synagogue" in the Old part of Jerusalem
destroyed by the Arabs, June 1967.

Photographer: Moshe Milner

Courtesy of the Israel Government Press Office

One by one Jews came out of their cellars to be rushed off quickly. The women, children and old men were handed over to the Red Cross, and the men were taken to prisoner-of-war stockades.

The fact that the Middle East still merited coverage was evinced in the 21 June issue in a photo-reportage that portrayed King Abdullah of Transjordan. This indicated recognition of the status of the King, who had won control of the Old City of Jerusalem, as a major player in the conflict: "His Legion's victory at Jerusalem makes Amman center of Arab world."¹⁷ In stark contrast to the black and white photos commonly featured in the reporting on the Israel-Arab conflict, King Abdullah and Glubb Pasha (Sir John Bagot Glubb), the British commander-in-chief of the Arab Legion, were featured in a large, color photo. All these photos had been taken by John Phillips during his sojourn in the Transjordanian capital in early May 1948.

However, as became apparent a week later, the surrender of the Jewish Quarter was not yet old news. The photo-reportage of the Arab victory and Jewish defeat in the Old City of Jerusalem featured in the 28 June issue of the magazine was exceptional also in that it specifically identified Phillips

as the reporter. In an exceptional move, the magazine explained why it had been impossible to publish the images of the end of the Jewish Quarter taken by Phillips on 28 May:

Self-important Muslim censors, not only in Palestine but in neighboring Arab countries which have major communication outlets, tried for a fortnight to keep the news from leaking out, but last week these uncensored pictures by Life's reporter John Phillips reached New York and told the story.¹⁸

As Phillips related later in his autobiography, he had had to smuggle out the photos recording the destruction of the Jewish Quarter.¹⁹ He also reported that the Arab High Committee, angered by his reportage, had sentenced him to death.

The photos featured in the 28 June issue of *Life* recorded the end of the battle in the Old City as the juxtaposition of Arab victory and Jewish defeat, Arab victor and vanquished Jews. The photos recorded Abdullah's triumphant visit to the Muslim shrines of Jerusalem on Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount)—and what had happened in and to the Jewish Quarter following its surrender. As the title of the piece—"Arabs Sack the Holy City"—indicates, the main story, from the reporter's perspective, was the destruction and pillaging of the Jewish Quarter. As the photos showing the visit of Abdullah to pray at the Muslim shrines on Haram al-Sharif suggest, the "Sacking of the Holy City" proclaimed in the title was limited to Jewish shrines only.

The visual juxtaposition of Arab victory and Jewish defeat was featured in the two images at the top of the page. The image on the left shows a smoldering alleyway with flames coming out of the window of a burning house. At the center of the image is a terrified girl, running towards the camera, clinging to a bag with her two hands. Behind her some blurred figures appear—an Arab Legionnaire with his weapon hanging on his shoulder with his back to the girl, facing people advancing in the direction of the running girl. It is not clear whether these are Arab looters chasing the girl or Jewish refugees fleeing the scene. The image on the right shows the victor in his triumph: Abdullah with his entourage visiting the outer perimeter of the Dome of the Rock. The king is dressed in white robes, as befits a devout Muslim visiting a holy shrine. A young Arab Legionnaire with his rifle ready is facing the camera.

Whereas the dark image on the left suggests a hellish scene, the bright image on the right exudes a sense of serenity, with the imposing seventh century Muslim shrine in the background and the clear sky above



A Jewish girl, Rachel Levy aged 7 fleeing from a street with burning buildings
as the Arabs sack Jerusalem after its surrender, 28 May 1948.

Photographer: John Phillips

Courtesy of Image Bank/Time and Life Pictures/Getty Images

suggesting bliss. The contrast between the fatherly figure of His Majesty the King walking in a holy place and a terrified girl running for her life in a narrow, smoldering alleyway tells volumes: the associative power of the juxtaposition of the two images seems to confirm the adage “A picture is worth a *thousand words*”. The victor is identified by name and distinguished by title; the vanquished are anonymous and thus emblematic.

The story of the sacking of the Jewish quarter is also related in the stark contrast between two other photos, showing the same alleyway (*Batei Machaseh*)²⁰ “before looting” and “after looting”. The first photo (“before looting”) shows ultra-orthodox Jews, old and young, men and women, waiting in the alleyway to be evacuated, with their belongings ready outside the homes they are about to abandon. Remarkably, the photo does not convey a sense of panic or the impression of a looming calamity. The second photo (“after looting”) shows the same alleyway 24 hours later, after a frenzied Arab mob had pillaged the Jewish Quarter, leaving behind, as the text informs, “only charred rubble and burned-out houses”.

The photo-reportage that appeared in *Life* featured only three photos out of the many shot by Phillips in the Jewish Quarter in May 1948. These images were later published and commented upon in three books by Phillips. Many of the hitherto unpublished photos appeared in print for the first time in 1977 in his *A Will to Survive*,²¹ a book that not only expanded the photographic memory of the surrender and evacuation of the Jewish Quarter, but also assigned names and biographies to individuals recorded for posterity on film. Many of these photos were later published in memoirs by Phillips in 1985 and 1996.²²

Many of the photos published since 1977 focus on the fate of the vanquished after the surrender terms had been signed by Abdullah el-Tell, the Arab Legion commander, and the Haganah commander of the Jewish Quarter. Images of Jewish POWs—either assembled before being led away to captivity or marching through the narrow lanes of the Old City—do not exude anxiety. Phillips later noted that they “wore the blank expressions of men who had been under constant fire and had slept little”.²³ Obviously, the presence of foreign reporters and at least one photographer with his camera visible among them looks good. The Legionnaires guarding the Jewish POWs appear to be relaxed: there are no threatening gestures, no weapons are directed at the captives. If the captives had any concerns about the possibility that Arab irregulars or civilians would attempt to massacre them, these were dispelled by the orderly conduct of the Legionnaires. The photos also show no sign of animosity toward civilians—old people, women, and children—about to leave the Jewish Quarter.

In his memoirs Abdullah el-Tell reported that he positioned the soldiers at the outskirts of the area out of fear that Arab civilians seeking revenge would attack the Jewish Quarter. He expressed pride in how his officers and soldiers followed his orders and acted “according to the legacy of Arab tolerance”.²⁴ He proudly reported that the Jews were astonished by the conduct of the Arab legionnaires who handed over water and cigarettes to the women, children, and elderly (sic!). The photos clearly show the success of el-Tell’s effort to secure an undisturbed and peaceful evacuation of all Jews from the Old City. A day after the surrender a Jewish Agency spokesman commended the Arab legionnaires who “conducted themselves admirably”.²⁵

The photographic images of Jewish refugees document old men, women, and many children, ultra-orthodox Ashkenazim and Sephardim, exhausted after two weeks of intensive fighting and shelling gathering their belongings, making their way to the assembly place and then to Zion Gate, the exit point from the Old City. The photographer later recalled, “I was struck by their expressions, which had changed from a numb, empty look to one of grief. Yet no one wept.”²⁶

He also observed that young and old reacted differently: young girls carrying three bundles strode forward with a look of determination, and in contrast an old Ashkenazi man sitting cross-legged on the ground, looking expressionless at the camera, holding what he cared to save: a folded prayer shawl and a holy book. Another photo records a mother holding an infant in her arms, her “unseeing eyes”, as the photographer noted, “gazed straight ahead”. Another photo records an old couple walking uphill, to the assembly place, the Mount of Olives in the background; the long shadows they cast indicates that it was already late afternoon. The woman held a bag with food in one hand and matzos in a paper bag in the other. The old man held a cane in one hand and a bundle with the family clothing in the other.

In his commentary, Phillips explained that upon returning from Zion Gate, he realized that Arab civilians, in defiance of the curfew imposed by the Arab Legion, had raided the abandoned buildings, looting and setting fire to them on their way. Walking down the burning Street of the Jews he encountered the young, terrified girl whose image appeared in the photo-reportage published in *Life* in the 28 May issue. The photographer noted that in her terror, the girl “bared her teeth like a trapped animal”.²⁷ She was seven and a half years old. Some thirty years later she told the story behind the image:²⁸



Jewish families fleeing the Old City through the Zion Gate, June 1948.

Photographer: John Phillips

Courtesy of Image Bank/Time and Life Pictures/Getty Images

I had been left at home, because my mother had gone to the synagogue with the other children. So I took some Matzos, which were on the table, and went out. There were Arab soldiers in the street, and the quarter was burning. I had no choice but to run through the streets trying to find my parents. I got to Zion gate and was pushed through by the crowd. An Israeli soldier put me on a truck with other refugees.

Phillips did not record what happened to the refugees after leaving the Old City through Zion Gate, to Mount Zion, which was under Israeli control. The *Palestine Post* reported that the wounded were sent to hospitals and that the evacuees were billeted mainly in the former Arab neighborhood of

Qatamon, located at the southwestern sector of Jerusalem, that had fallen into Jewish hands in early May.²⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Available in print and accessible through the Internet,³⁰ John Phillips' pictorial record of the destruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem (re)directs attention to an issue that has been almost completely ignored in recent literature on the 1948 War: the effect of the war on Jewish populations and in particular, on those Jewish communities located in areas under Arab control at the end of the 1948 war.

Overwhelmingly, the recent literature on the 1948 war has focused on different aspects of the Naqba—the Palestinian Arab “catastrophe”—so much so that with a few exceptions consigned to the margins of discussion, the 1948 War has been portrayed almost exclusively as the story of atrocities committed by Zionists against Palestinian Arabs. A case in point is an entry to the *Encyclopedia of Mass Violence*.³¹ Entitled “The Historiography of the 1948 War”, this entry contains no mention whatsoever of literature dealing with acts of violence perpetrated against Jewish populations during this war. Reading through the entry, an unacquainted reader is presented with a historiography of the 1948 War that is exclusively engaged with the Naqba, as evinced in numerous massacres of Palestinian Arab civilians and the destruction of hundreds of Arab villages, towns, and neighborhoods. This entry highlights unequivocally the current conflation of the 1948 war with the Naqba paradigm and its focus on “the erasure of Palestine by Israel” as a procedure of ethnic cleansing of Palestinian Arabs “involving place and community destruction, the “erasure of ‘other’ cultural landscapes, the renaming of locales and the repopulation of the land by a new group (sic!).”³²

Based on the dichotomy “victim” and “victimizer” (or “perpetrator”/villain), the Naqba paradigm of the 1948 war, which underlies the narrative of Palestinian Arab victimization, is a moral drama juxtaposing “good” and “evil”. This binary positioning typifies the moral paradigm that became dominant in the West in the second half of the twentieth century. According to this paradigm victims possess the moral high ground by their very definition and functioning as victims. The definition of victim consists of two complementary aspects: *suffering* (mental and physical) and *passivity*. In stark contrast to an active villain/perpetrator, a victim is passive. He is powerless and helpless. All responsibility is lifted from the victim.

The Naqba paradigm features the Jews/Zionists as villainous perpetrators and the Palestinian Arabs as feeble victims. Accordingly, the story of “the 1948 Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine”³³ excludes Jewish refugees, massacres of Jews, the destruction of Jewish communities, and the erasure of the Jewish signifiers in the local landscape from the story. As made explicit in John Phillips’ photo-reportage featuring the destruction of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, the ethnic cleansing of Palestine also involved the expulsion of Jews and the destruction of their communities—whenever and wherever military power relations were in favor of Arab forces. In effect, in the wake of the 1948 war not a single living Jew remained in the areas under Arab control in the territory of the former British Mandate Palestine—successful ethnic cleansing indeed.

NOTES

1. Gillian Rose, “Photography and its Circulations,” in *Envisioning Landscapes, Making Worlds*, ed. Stephen Daniels, Dydia DeLyser, J. Nicholas Entrikin, and Douglas Richardson (London and New York, 2011), 287–92.

2. The synagogue was established in the early eighteenth century, but was destroyed by Muslims in 1721. It lay in ruins for over 140 years and became known as Ha’Hurva (Hebrew for the Ruin). Rebuilt in 1864, it became Jerusalem’s main Ashkenazi synagogue. See Yehoshua Ben Arie and Zvi Shilony, *Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 64–5 [Hebrew].

3. *Palestine Post*, 30 May 1948, p. 1.

4. Until 1955 the formal name of the Kingdom of Transjordan that followed the annexation of the West Bank in 24 April 1949 became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

5. Yizhak Levi (Levitze), *Jerusalem in the War of Independence* (Tel-Aviv, 1986), 110–1; Abdullah el-Tell, *Memoirs of Abdullah el-Tell* (Tel-Aviv, 1960), 40 [both in Hebrew].

6. Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (Tel-Aviv, 2010), 191–4 [Hebrew].

7. el-Tell, *Memoirs*, 110.

8. In fact, Jewish combatants surrendered to the Syrian army following the fall of Mishmar Ha’Yarden on 10 June 1948, and the Egyptian army following the fall of Nitzanim on 7 June. See Morris, *1948*, 269–70, 284.

9. Levi, *Jerusalem in the War of Independence*, 110.

10. An army of volunteers from Arab countries set up by the Arab League as a counter to the mostly Palestinian Holy War Army of the Arab High Committee led

by the supporters of Haj Amin al-Husseini. See Ronen Izhak, "Fauzi al-Qawuqji and the Arab Liberation Army in the 1948 War toward the Attainment of King Abdullah's Political Ambitions in Palestine," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 28.3 (2008): 459–66.

11. John Phillips, *A Will to Survive* (New York, 1977), 8.

12. For a detailed reference of the battle for Atarot and Neve Ya'akov, see Levi, *Jerusalem in the War of Independence*, 76–81.

13. On the battle in the Old City of Jerusalem see Aharon Liron (Altshuler), *The Old City of Jerusalem Under Siege and Battle* (Tel-Aviv, 1957); Moshe Ehrnvald, *Siege Within a Siege: The Old Jewish Quarter Independence War* (Sde-Boker, 2004) [both in Hebrew].

14. Liron (Altshuler), *The Old City of Jerusalem Under Siege and Battle*, 141.

15. "Israel is Born in Travail and Hope," *Life*, 31 May 1948, 21–7.

16. *Life*, 7 June 1948, 42–3.

17. "King Abdullah: His Legion's Victory at Jerusalem Makes Amman Center of Arab World," *Life*, 21 June 1948, 65–6.

18. "Arabs Sack the Holy City," *Life*, 28 June 1948, 36–7.

19. John Phillips, *Free Spirit in a Troubled World* (Zurich-Berlin-New York, 1996), 473.

20. *Batei Machaseh* (Hebrew for shelter houses) were established in the 1860s for the housing of poor Jews and are situated in the southeastern corner of the Jewish Quarter. See Ben Arieh and Shilony, *Pray for the Peace of Jerusalem*, 67–8.

21. Phillips, *A Will to Survive*.

22. John Phillips, *It Happened in Our Lifetime* (London, 1985); *Free Spirit in a Troubled World*.

23. Phillips, *Free Spirit in a Troubled World*, 466.

24. el-Tell, *Memoirs*, 107.

25. *Palestine Post*, 30 May 1948, p. 3.

26. Phillips, *A Will to Survive*, 35.

27. *Ibid.*, 46.

28. *Ibid.*, 162.

29. *Palestine Post*, 30 May, p. 3; Arnon Golan, "Jewish Refugees in Israel's War of Independence," *Contemporary Jewry* 8 (1993): 238–9 [Hebrew].

30. <http://images.google.com/hosted/life>.

31. Nadine Picaudou, "The Historiography of the 1948 Wars," *Online Encyclopedia of Mass Violence* [online], 1 November 2008, accessed 3 February 2012, <http://www.massviolence.org/The-Historiography-of-the-1948-Wars>, ISSN 1961–9898.

32. Carl Dahlman and Gearóid Ó'Tuathail, "The Legacy of Ethnic Cleansing: The International Community and the Returns Process in Post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Political Geography* 24 (2005): 573.

33. Ilan Pappé, "The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 36.1 (2006): 6–20.